I: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

The following is the order of importance of the four paramount Chiefs of the Sei'ar tribe : Yeslam bin Muhammad bin Jerbū'a of the Āl Hātim, Tanāf bin Seheil bin Rumeidān of the Āl Hudeib, the Āl Qarwān, and the Āl 'Ali, 'Abdulla bin 'Aun bin Mulhī of the Āl Mulhī, and 'Ali bin 'Aita bin Tarim of the Āl Bā Rūh and the Āl Bāqi Msellem. Yeslam bin Muhammad is said to be far and away the most powerful of the Sei'ar chiefs.

The Sei'ar are descended from the tribe of Kinda and they claim Aswad al Kindi as their ancestor. On account of this descent the Āl Mahfudh are sometimes included with them. Their country, an inhospitable waste of barren plateaux scored with unfertile wadis, lies north of the main wadi and stretches west to Wadi 'Abr. It is called simply Reidat as Sei'ar.

They told me their neighbours are, on the east, 'Awāmir and Kathīr, Manāhil and Mahra, Zabeini, on the north, Kathīri as Suflan, Harawiz, Mahra, Zabeini, Rawashid, Murra, Yām, and on the west, Daham, 'Abīda, Marādā, Hammām, Bal 'Ubeid, Kurab. The very names tell how far afield they roam and raid. They are the wolves of the desert and steppe, and pariahs to the wadi folk living south of them, for they raid into the Minhali country on the east and the Hamumi and 'Awābitha on the south. Philby mentions them raiding far into the sands to Bir Fadhil, to Sharma, and possibly going to Hadbat abu Khasba. Bertram Thomas speaks of them raiding the Qutun, a section of the Qara tribe, and raiding a Mahra encampment at the waterhole of Andhaur. He also says they raided as far north as the region of Umm Malissa and that Sei'ar is a word of terror to the Rashid and the southern Murra. The Nahd let them visit their markets through fear only, and they are an ever present danger to small unguarded parties of travellers, whom they have interrupted up to Ghadīr al Milib in the Wadi Du'an. Having no settled habitat they are hard to punish and have always proved elusive and wary. When travelling in small numbers outside their own country they choose the byways and travel by night, for owing to their habits every man's hand is against them. The only places at which they appear openly are Shibam where they behave themselves, and Meshhed during the time of the annual *ziyara* in the month of Rabi'l Awal when they sell their camels. But their hardier neighbours do not let them have it all their own way and the Manāhil, for instance, give them as good as they get. If they raid far they are also raided from afar, as witness the case of a young warrior of the Southern Ajman from the neighbourhood of Kuweit, who, proceeding to Nejran in the winter of 1934-5 to espouse a Yām damsel, raided the Sei'ar on the Hadhramaut borders on his way home and took five of their camels to Kuweit.

They have monthly truces among themselves, never longer; sometimes they will make new ones, sometimes they fight. I was

619 given three different accounts of their truces with other tribes. My first informant told me that those in force were with the 'Awāmir 721 for two years, of which three months had passed (this was on 578 3rd November 1934), with the Murra for six years, five months passed; the Rawashid four years, one year passed; Manāhil two years, five months passed; and Hamumi two years, seven months passed. The Mahra had declined to make a truce with them.

My second informant told me on 15th November 1934, that between the Hamumi and the Sei'ar six months' truce remained, between the Manāhil and the Sei'ar one year, and between the Mahra and the Sei'ar six months. The 'Awābitha living in Wadi 'Adam and Wadi al 'Ain were not on terms with the Sei'ar.

The third and probably better account is that given me by Tanaf bin Seheil bin Rumeidan's son and son-in-law on 1st December 1934. With the 'Awāmir, they said, there was a year's truce of which four months were left, with the Kathīri a year, and one month left, with the Hamumi a year, and two months left, with the Murra, Rawashid, Manāhil, and Yām there were truces for a year of which eleven months were left.

It is stated that the Sei'ars would join the Kathīri if there was trouble with the Qu'aiti, though the latter has a "B" agreement with them.

231 The wealth of the tribe consists of camels and sheep. Their camels are said to be superior in quality to those of the tribes in the south but inferior to those of the Mahras, and their number is estimated to be be about 7,000 or 8,000. Bertram Thomas says: "The tribes strongest in camels are the Murra, Manasir and 438 Manahil, also to some extent, the Se'ar. The Rashid have, of late years, decayed from the depredations of the Se'ar." They have little cultivation though they grow jowari after rain. They go to Shibam to sell *saf* leaves for making mats, *'elb* trunks, and charcoal.

609 Bertram Thomas records the following description of them: 771 "The Se'ar, according to the Rashidis—perhaps a tainted source in view of their relationship—neither pray nor fast. And they mock a Rashidi visitor (in times of peace) who does so, though they swear by Allah and claim to believe in Him. 'They say, God is the Knower! that their ancestors saved the Prophet from the hands of the infidels who were intent on slaying him, and the Prophet granted to him and his heirs exemption from prayer observances. They say so! May God forgive them!'" We learned from the 582 Sei'ars that they will give their girls to prospective husbands on approval. If, after about two months' trial, a bridegroom is satisfied, he will marry the girl; otherwise she is returned to her parents.

622 The Seiyids 'Ali bin Zein, Hasan bin Salim al 'Attas, and [illegible]med 619 bin Hussein Hadun al 'Attas have influence over the Sei'ars.

1/n [See pg 92 CAT. ; ry 116 Analyst]

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

Āl 'Imran.

A tribe allied to the Tamimi. The *mansab* is Zein bin Hasan Balfaqih.

Manahil.

Clan.	*Section.*	*Places.*	*Nos.*	*'Aqil.*
Beit Kasim ...	Beit Ghānim	An Neid	40	'Aidha bin Tanāf.
	Beit al Batin	do.	60	do.
	Beit Rasi'a	do.	150	do.
	Beit al Hamādi	do.	28	do.
	Beit Nahāt	An Neid and As Sōm	80	do.
	Beit Barakāt	As Sōm and Fughma	30	do.
	Beit Nas'ūd	do.	15	do.
Beit Mu'ashini	Beit Nōkhat	—	50	do.
	Beit al Bāqiya	Sena and An Neid	100	Yealam bin Salim.
	Beit Sālmin	do. do.	50	do.
	Beit al Qōeinisa	do. do.	60	do.
	Tammān	do. do.	100	do.
	Hushhūsh	do. do.	300	do.
	Muzābbar	do. do.	100	do.
	'Atūni	An Neid	100	do.
Al Bawāqi ...	—	do.	100	—
As Samāh ...	Samāh ar Raqāa	Near the coast	100	—
	Samāh al Ghuthma	—	50	—
	Samāh Beit Khafr	At Al Masīla	180	—
	'Adūl	—	100	—
Tha'in and Beit Farād.	—	—	250	—
Beit Dahein ...	—	—	50	—
Beit Qumsit ...	—	—	500	—
Beni Sa'id ...	—	—	—	—
Beni Ujeil ...	—	Near Qabr Hud	—	—
			2,593	

The Manahil are a strong nomad tribe occupying the country east and north of the Hamumi and up into the Rub'al Khali. The southern part of Reida and the country from Damakh to upper Hadhramaut belong to them, and they have a few small settlements east of Qasm. They have an "A'[1]agreement with the Qu'aiti.

They breed camels extensively like their neighbours in the south-east, the Mahras, both for sale and for hire. Their camels are said to be finer and stronger than those of the Sei'ar, and the average price is estimated at about 200 rupees a camel. Female camels are seldom sold and are used both for breeding and riding. Women do not milk camels among the Manahil.

The tribe are said to raid as far as the Central Nejd and sometimes to the outskirts of Kuweit, passing the sandy stretch by routes known only to themselves. Bertram Thomas speaks of them raiding the Mahras in the steppe. We found that when passing through Mahra territory they declare themselves Tamimis. Bertram Thomas also says that " Bin Tannaf is the hereditary title of the

[1] [See page 92, category 116 - - Analyst]

I:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

Sheikh of the Manahil tribe. The present (1930) holder is one of the most famous leaders of the raid. The leader has always the perquisite of two or three of the best camels taken, otherwise there is equal division of the spoil". Philby mentions their chief, Saif bin Tannaf, as going to the Governor of Hasa to plead his excuses for not paying his taxes, and of the wilder spirits of the Manahil and other tribes joining a band of raiders called *Al Ziqirt*. In May 1935, the Manahil concluded a two years' truce with the Tamimi.

Their *mansabs* are Seiyid Hādi bin Ahmed ad Dawīla, whom I met collecting his tithes, which he does from Husn al 'Ur to Wad'a during the crop season, 'Ali bin Ahmed al Hussein who has influence over the Beni 'Ujeil, and Muhammad bin 'Ali Mola Dawīla who has influence over the Beni Sa'id, a small nomad clan.

Ba 'Atwa.

This small tribe, now scattered between Qu'aiti and Kathīri domains, deserves mention for its historic interest. Members of the tribe live in Mukalla, Shihr, Al Qatn, Seiyun, and Taris; they have no fixed country of their own. Like the Ja'da and the Ma'di, they claim descent from the Beni Hilāl and are therefore Ma'adic, sons of Ishmael, and not of Joktan. Legend tells that the Beni Hilāl, who are sometimes rumoured giants, once lived in the Wadis 'Amd and Henin, but that drought drove them forth to northern pastures.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE RULE OF THE KATHĪRI SULTANS OF THE ĀL 'ABDULLA.

Authorities appear to be divided as to whether the Kathīri tribe are of Dhufar, Hadhramaut, or Yemen origin. They originally rose to prominence towards the end of the fourteenth century under Bedr bin al Habrali, commonly known as Bedr Bu Tuweirak. The genealogy of the Āl 'Abdulla, the ruling family of the Kathīris, as far as I have been able to ascertain it, is given in an appendix. The Āl 'Abdulla number some 700 souls and live in Tarim, Seiyun, Wadi Tarba and Al Bada'; their *mansab* is Ahmed bin 'Abdur Rahman as Saqqaf.

By the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement the Sultans of the Āl 'Abdulla are recognised as Sultans of the Shenafir Confederation, and their dominion is defined as including the towns and villages of Seiyun, Tarim, Taris, Al Ghurf, Mariama and Al Gheil, and the Shenafir tribes of 'Umar, 'Amr, Al Kathīr, Bajri and Jabir and "all that is within their boundaries". Practically speaking the Sultan's rule is only absolute in the towns mentioned, and in Tarim he is represented by the sons of his uncle, 'Abdulla and Muhammad, sons of Ghalib bin Muhsin bin Ghalib, who are semi-independent. The present Sultan is 'Ali bin Mansur who succeeded his father (who died at Mecca on the day of the Standing on Arafat) in 1929.

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE HADHRAMAUT

HAROLD INGRAMS

INTRODUCTION

131 To the Arab geographers the Hadhramaut is a province of South
114 Arabia, to the west it remained until 1934 an imperfectly explored part of the peninsula with the chiefs of which Great Britain had had treaty relations since the end of the nineteenth century. From 1934 till the present time it has been my good fortune to explore it, to live in it and to be associated with its political development.

631 Politically it consists of six treaty areas, the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and
643 Mukalla, the Kathiri State of Seiyun, the two Wahidi Sultanates of Bir 'Ali and Balhaf and the two tiny sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura. Juridically all these treaty chiefdoms are of the same status, but the premier chief is the Qu'aiti Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla who has the title of Highness and a salute of eleven guns, and after him comes the Kathiri Sultan of Seiyun with a salute of nine guns. Until the nineteenth century the Kathiris had been for some centuries the ruling dynasty of the greater part of the country depending for their power on foreign mercenaries, most of whom were Yafa'i tribesmen from the mountains of the lower Yemen. In course of time these mercenaries became more powerful than the Kathiris and from them arose two dynasties, first of the Kasadis and then, conquering them and much of the Kathiri country, the Qu'aitis.

133 The Hadhramaut is essentially a desert region, with a negligible and
132 uncertain rainfall, in which the inhabitants have from a respectable antiquity evolved elaborate systems of irrigation to make the most of their
312 limited water and infertile soil, on which they have probably never been able to support themselves. But as the Hadhramis are commercially an
439 enterprising people they have for as far back as we have any certain knowledge of them, a matter of rather more than 2,000 years, lived on trade.
167 The ancient Hadhramaut lived on the incense trade: when that went by sea they learnt to emigrate and for centuries now the Hadhramis have gone abroad to earn money in the countries bordering the Red Sea, in East Africa, in India and most of all in the East Indies. One in every three or four Hadhramis is always abroad, generally temporarily for it is always their ambition to return home, and the largest colonies and the largest fortunes are found in the Netherlands East Indies, particularly Java. The community in Singapore is small but wealthy.

• 721 Until 1937 the principal feature of their life in their own country was chronic internal strife, for despite their ability to amass money abroad from house property, by trade—mainly in piece goods—by money-lending,

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

and so on, they were pathetically unable to live in their own country without quarrelling. In 1937 I managed to persuade the warring tribes to try a period of truce and the Qu'aiti and Kathiri Sultans asked for me to be appointed as their adviser. From then on an effort has been made to build up local Governments and an advisory system has been evolved in both those States and in the Wahidi Sultanates.

It is the purpose of this paper to describe the methods used in building up State government and social services in the Hadhramaut and in order to illustrate them I propose to describe their development in the Qu'aiti State. This is by far the biggest area in the country and has the largest revenue. For these reasons more time has been given to it than the other areas and the co-operation of the Sultan and his people has been so complete that considerable progress has been made.

The State covers an area of about 50,000 square miles, divided into five *kasas* each with a governor. It has a population of about 200,000 and the capital is the sea port of Mukalla (population today about 25,000), the largest port in South Arabia between Aden and Muscat. The old capital was Shihr, another port some forty miles east of Mukalla, and that is why the Sultan includes the name in his title. The present ruler is His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., who succeeded in 1936.

Status of Great Britain in the Hadhramaut

Until 1937 British relations with the Qu'aiti State depended on a treaty of 1888 in which the British Government extended to Mukalla and Shihr and their dependencies the gracious favour and protection of Her Majesty the Queen Empress. In return for this the rulers undertook to refrain from entering into any relations with any foreign Power except with the sanction of the British Government, and to give notice of the attempt by any other Power to interfere with the country. In 1937 I negotiated a treaty with the Sultan by which His Majesty's Government agreed to appoint a resident adviser to the Sultan and the Sultan agreed, for the welfare of his State, to accept this advice in all matters except those concerning Muhammadan religion and custom. This treaty was based on those entered into with rulers of Malay States, and when Sir Bernard Reilly signed the treaty on Friday, August 13, 1937, he addressed to the Sultan, a Note referring to the treaties with the Malay rulers. This Note explained first of all that it was by no means the intention of His Majesty's Government to reduce the powers of the Sultan to insignificance, and made it clear that the treaty would be worked in the same way as similar treaties with Malay rulers. It went on to say there had been very few cases of material disagreement between the ruler and the adviser in Malaya and that the advice to be given to His Highness in all matters of internal concern would be based solely on the adviser's view of the interests of the State and of His Highness. It had been the policy of His Majesty's Government, the Note said, to maintain the authority of the ruler in all such matters. It said that in foreign affairs the case was somewhat different because by

Ingrams G-6 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

the general control of the State Secretary, an Omani Arab borrowed from the Tanganyika Government. Apart from him there were eighteen other non-Hadhrami Arabs and Indians in the administration, mostly doctors, technicians and military officers.

In 1934 on the best figures available the revenue was about Rs. 630,000. For 1944-5 it was estimated at just under Rs. 15,000,000. In 1934 the amount spent on Government services was about 3,010,000 of which 2,025,000 went to Yafa'i Irregulars and slaves. In 1944-5 the expenditure was estimated at just under Rs. 16,000,000. In 1934 the then Sultan put about half the revenue in his pocket and, just before he left for India for the last time before he died, he emptied the till and left the treasurer to borrow from the merchants, so when the first check of Government cash was made on April 1, 1939, there was still a deficit of about Rs. 40,000. On April 1, 1944, there was a credit of over Rs. 14,000,000.

Up to the end of 1936 insecurity was rife all over the country. No one could travel safely without an escort from the tribe through whose territory he moved. In the settled areas many villages were at war with neighbouring villages. In some cases there were elaborate trench systems both for defence and for communication with the fields. It was estimated that the sudden death-rate in the principal part of the Wadi Hadhramaut alone was ten a month. Even the unarmed classes were not infrequently murdered. The worst area was Kathiri Territory, but there were others almost as bad in areas under Qu'aiti influence. The Qu'aiti security forces were really only effective for keeping the bedouins out of the main Qu'aiti towns. They would not have been really effective there if it had not been for humiliating agreements which the Sultan had made with the bedouins that they would not raid within short distances of the towns marked with white boundary posts. The regular forces had been reduced to ceremonial duties only: the power of the State depended on Irregular mercenaries and slaves, and the Sultan was generally at their mercy, his authority depending on being able to play the one off against the other.[1] Early in 1937 a general peace treaty was arranged for three years between all the tribes and tribal sections. To this there were nearly 1,400 signatories which in itself gives an idea of the divided state of the country. In the same year we began the reorganization of the regular forces. In 1940 the truce ran out: an extension for ten years was proclaimed and for the most part loyally adhered to, but a good deal of tribal trouble recurred and the local forces were not yet sufficient in numbers or skill to keep order everywhere. Trouble gradually lessened and in 1944 the Qu'aiti State was paying over four lakhs of rupees for armed and police forces which on the whole kept order and peace very well. Incidents during 1944 were very few.

The bedouin today has a real confidence in the Qu'aiti Government.

[1] Albeit the last official trace of slavery disappeared in 1944 when the State slaves were freed. Many of them were enlisted in a new African Company and the old ones were pensioned off.

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

and the people are natural Muslims having learnt in a hard school absolute submission to the will of God. Religious fanaticism is strongest where the seiyids are strongest. In other places there is greater tolerance and, among the bedouins, it is what a man is rather than what his religion is that counts.

When we started everybody wanted independence. Many of the old secluded seiyids, whose ideas of independence merely amounted to the exclusion of infidels, had sons and relations who read the Egyptian papers and their ideas of independence were based on grandiose schemes of complete self-government. Some of them, who thought themselves moderate, demanded no more than independence on the Egyptian and Iraqi models and talked airily of Parliaments and so on. In Singapore and Java in 1939 I had petitions presented to me three times demanding this sort of independence. Once at Solo the deputation was pointed out to me as representative: it contained seiyids, tribesmen and a Sultan of the Kathiri family. Only the last had ever been in the Hadhramaut. He asked me if he might see me privately after the meeting and then asked me to arrange independence for Jahiz. Jahiz was his village in the Wadi 'Amd and consists of five houses. The tribesmen, settled and bedouin, wanted independence; the bedouin claim was at least easy to understand for all it amounted to was that their freedom in the hills and deserts should be undisturbed. The settled tribesmen were and are more difficult. Every little section considered itself independent, and the more powerful, who could afford not only to arm themselves but to buy and arm private forces of slaves, did all they could to extend their boundaries at the expense of their neighbours.

The strangest example of this kind of campaign was that of the Bin 'Abdat section of the Kathiri tribe, who own much landed property in Singapore and Java. The treaty chief of the Kathiris is the Kathiri Sultan whose capital is Seiyun. About 1928 the head of the Bin 'Abdat section forcibly occupied the walled town of Al Ghurfa, belonging to some unarmed sheikhs. This brought him into conflict with the Kathiri Sultan, who was supported by the Qu'aiti Sultan, and with the neighbouring heads of other Kathiri sections. War ensued which carried on with little interruption till 1937. Bin 'Abdat built up a respectable force of slaves and tribesmen of his own and constructed an elaborate system of forts and trenches which extended right across the Wadi Hadhramaut some three miles or more, and almost to the Qu'aiti-Kathiri boundary at Shibam. In the course of the fighting, a curious armoured vehicle was imported from Java, which was intended to be towed by a motor car into the enemy camp. Bin 'Abdat acquired a very large stock of ammunition and really good rifles at very high prices. The Qu'aiti Sultan brought artillery, ancient and modern, to the aid of the Kathiri, but no decision was ever reached.

When I came to the Hadhramaut in 1936 Bin 'Abdat instructed his lawyer in Singapore to address a letter to the Government in which he claimed to be an "independent rajah." He was informed that the only recognized treaty chiefs in the main Hadhramaut were the Qu'aiti and

8; Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 M042 Headrament M042

pasture lies beyond a certain point; or at noonday halts the camels become "temporarily lost."

Moonlit nights are considered most desirable for travel. Camels are grazed wherever pasture is most abundant, regardless of the time of day—the heat may be intense—or the progress of the journey. This would not be necessary if small quantities of fodder, such as millet and hay, were carried. This practice, however, is not popular, owing either to custom or to what may be considered unwarranted expense, despite the fact that the animals could be maintained in superior condition and at the same time be worked harder to a degree that would more than offset the cost of purchased fodder.

On the march camelmen provide for their own maintenance with small amounts of dates, bread, coffee, and tea, which add little to the burden a caravan can transport. Therefore, provided the equipment of a traveling group is not too cumbersome and the personnel not too large, the unit can maintain itself on the march four or five weeks without replenishing supplies. Speed of travel will be governed by local grazing, water supply, and terrain, the condition of the camels, and the "temperament" of the caravan leader—an unknown usually capable of "adjustment."

In the caravans of those not strictly limited in resources, the donkey is invariably included because it is comparatively easy to ride and a more comfortable mount than a camel. Camels can be hired for 1.00 to 1.25 Maria Theresa dollars (the standard currency in the interior) a day and donkeys for about 1.00 dollar.

Bedouin "Warfare"

It is common knowledge that caravans have been both successfully and unsuccessfully raided; but just what tactics the Bedouins employ on such occasions is somewhat of a mystery. At 4.00 a. m. one day a small party was plodding silently through bushes and mist along a broad wadi bottom leading to the sea. Through a knowledge of the prevailing wind as revealed by ripple marks in the sand, the leader cautiously picked his way and at length found a faint trail incised in the bank. About 10.00 a. m. the caravan came to rest in the spotted shade of a leafless camel's-thorn for the customary noontime forage; and while the camels fed on the sharp, crunchy thorns, the Bedouins reclined on the sand in the meager shade of the dry branches.

Without apparent warning the whole camp was suddenly alive, for downwind had come a faint call, which one man had been alert enough to catch. The sharp-eyed Bedouins soon discovered two minute figures on the crest of a distant dune overlooking the caravan route ahead; and it was at once recalled that this route followed a tribal boundary between two groups now rumored to be unfriendly. The

8: Files N-6 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

strangers were assumed to be enemy scouts, the advance guard of a larger fighting force behind some distant dune.

The "ambushed" caravan comprised sixteen Bedouins, only twelve of them armed. This fact, however, the theoretically opposing force was supposed not to know, since it is an unwritten law of the desert that every Bedouin travels with rifle and ammunition. Without hesitation the leader selected three armed men to act as scouts and an unarmed messenger. Hastily the four men washed down a few mouthfuls of food, since they did not know when they would be able to eat again, filled with water from the large reservoir skins some small ones suitable for short, flying trips, and then slipped swiftly off across the sand in a peculiar bowlegged glide. Under cover of a near-by dune the caravan men scrambled to its summit, at once opened fire, and drove the two intruders from view. They then dashed ahead to the dune on which their adversaries had stood and later advanced from hilltop to hilltop parallel to the caravan route and between it and "enemy" territory. In the meantime the camels had been hastily packed and started on the march along the now protected trail, which they followed without intermission until sundown.

The two "enemy" tribesmen were not seen again, and it was concluded that their actions had been misinterpreted. Freedom from molestation during the remainder of the day did not, however, cause the caravan leader to relinquish vigilance. The party was scheduled to pass at about 3.00 p. m. a water hole to one side of the trail and hidden from it by a dune. As a method of precaution an advance guard of four went ahead and, just as the caravan came abreast of this spot, converged on the well from four directions. Although the strategy displayed by the Bedouins and their chief was happily unnecessary, the "shadow" campaign showed how fearless and cautious these men of the desert can be.

Fishers and Ropemakers

During certain of the winter months sardines abound along the Hadhramaut coast, traveling in large schools, which can be seen from the shore as black patches on the surface of the sea. Natives wade out with hand nets or cast from small canoes, making enormous hauls with considerable ease. The sardines are much appreciated by the Bedouins as an addition to their diet of dates, millet, and goat or sheep meat and are eaten either raw or cooked. The fish are taken from the nets, tossed up on the beach to dry, and then packed into large bundles for transport to the interior, where they are used for camel fodder or fertilizer. Fish oil is obtained from that part of the catch which is dumped into pits and allowed to decompose. Sting rays, sharks, porpoises, and lobsters are also taken from the sea; but as the use of lobster is unknown, it is cast back from the nets.

10: Hutchison U-2 (no date) 1950 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

THE HADHRAMI BEDOUIN LEGION

By A. M. CLARK HUTCHISON

DURING the past year the Jordan Arab Legion has been much in the news. Its activities in Iraq and Syria in the world war, its picturesqueness, and the fact that of all the Arab forces operating in Palestine the Legion was the only one to gain successes, have all helped to focus attention on it. Not so many people, however, have heard of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion, a small local security force in the eastern part of the Aden Protectorate. This force, no more than a miniature army, is modelled on the Arab Legion.

Ten years ago in that area of the Aden Protectorate known as the Hadhramaut conditions were far from peaceful. Although the two leading rulers in the country, the Sultan of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla and the Kathiri Sultan in Seiyun, exercised certain control and powers over their lands, nevertheless there existed in adjacent regions and frequently within their own boundaries much raiding, looting, and inter-tribal quarrelling. Trade was at a standstill. Camel convoys were attacked, such roads as existed were often cut, and personal risk to a traveller was serious. All hopes of progress or agricultural development were reduced to nothing.

Britain was already in protectorate treaty relationship with the Sultans, but no political work had been undertaken in the area which was far from Aden. Air communications improved the outlook, and in the winter of 1936-37, as a result of careful planning and much detailed political work on the spot, the tribes great and small agreed to make peace and adjustments, required by all, were made concerning property, blood money, and other rights.*

At this point His Majesty's Government, on the advice of its representatives in the area, decided that a policy of assisted development was desirable, and adviser treaties were welcomed by the Sultans.

From this time on the civil administration was to gain in power and respect. The police and local military formations already in existence were inadequate for use in areas nominally under close state control. Their reorganization was undertaken with Indian N.C.O.s, and for use in the Bedouin areas Mr. W. H. Ingrams proposed the raising of a new force. After studying the organization of the Transjordan Arab Legion, and with the co-operation of Glubb Pasha, who arranged the loan of N.C.O.s, he raised the new force on January 1, 1940, and named it the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion. With the exception of the period from June, 1940, to March, 1942, he remained in control of the force and its development until June, 1944, when it had forts in the more important Bedouin areas and an educational system which included boarding-schools for Bedouin boys and girls.

* Cf. Harold Ingrams, *Arabia and the Isles* (London, John Murray, 1942), pp. 243 ff.

702 taking into consideration rations and clothing, is good money in the
701 Hadhramaut, and is sufficient for a soldier's tobacco and personal needs and, to maintain a wife and family. Unlike his British counterpart, he does not have to undergo a rigid medical examination, nor is he likely to suffer from the dentist, but if he should fall ill he is treated by the unit medical orderly or a civilian doctor, and provision is made for his admittance to the civil hospital in Mukalla if need arises.

712 At the end of recruit training a soldier will be sent to one of the posts
701 in the interior, and here the discipline and character-training already undergone will be continued. Some of these posts are sited where desert tracks cross, others near disputed wells or in areas where the tribes have
[342] proved recalcitrant. Sometimes local houses are requisitioned, and as Hadhrami architecture derives from the need for security these high, small-based, mud-brick houses are not unlike forts in themselves. In other localities proper small-scale forts have been built, square in shape and enclosing a well in the courtyard, resembling the smaller Palestine police posts or Arab Legion forts. Usually built with towers at two diagonally opposite corners, they have an imposing entrance gate, storerooms and sleeping quarters below, and above two rooms and a balcony encircling the fort. In commanding position, they would fill admirably the requirements of a producer of the *Beau Geste* type of film. From their posts the H.B.L. patrol on foot, perform guard duties, and if necessary provide escorts. Life in an outpost may appear dull, but reliefs are
[212] regular, and in his spare time a soldier is wise to learn to read and write, as without these accomplishments he is debarred from promotion above the rank of corporal. Any day a row of four or five soldiers may be observed at the unusual task of laborious reading or writing under the guidance of an officer or N.C.O.

701 Generally the presence of soldiers in an area has a deterrent effect on
● 721 any potential law-breakers or tribal raiders, and by mixing with the local Bedouin, and by reason of being themselves Bedouin, they do much to assist Government by explanation and advice. When trouble does occur, minor operations may have to be undertaken to deal with the offenders. During these infrequent periods the soldier receives his best training, and the prospect of more active duty always appeals to him. Although a natural fighter in his own type of warfare and country, the Bedouin is no match for his brother in the H.B.L., who has the advantage of superior leadership, better weapons, and a plentiful supply of ammunition. The expenditure of rounds, which do not have to be accounted for individually,
[619] is one of the soldier's greatest joys and entertainments. It may be wondered, if, on occasion, men enlisted from tribes which are hostile to each other carry this enmity with them into the force. Such is not the case, and once in the army they seem to lose their civilian opinions and prejudices and to forget past feuds. However, care is taken that soldiers of a tribe against which force is used are not employed on that task.

702 Militarily speaking, the Hadhrami Bedouin soldier is quick at drill, and, as practically all of them are born with a rifle in their hands, weapon training, even with light machine-guns, comes easily to them. They are not, however, such good shots as might be expected and have a universal

Tendency to fire high.

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

boundary of the region of the āl-Qa'ētī, and were advised to trust to the āl-Kathīr. About five days were considered necessary to get our caravan together, and these days were made use of for making a botanical collection on the limestone hills behind Makalla.

Von Wissmann made profile sketches of the hills, and made observations to get a good base for his road survey. We were thankful to make use of the permission granted us by the authorities to make a trip for two days along the coast to ash-Shihr, which was formerly the most important harbor. Even a short distance inland from Makalla the country becomes unsafe. We were taken in a sort of auto-bus belonging to the sultan round the inland side of the mass of rock at Makalla, after that close along the shore, and finally even along the flat sandy shore. The bus was quite full of armed guards. We were forbidden to go by the road over the mountains, since on that road some soldiers had been killed from an ambush a short time before.

We were thankful when, after many negotiations with the leaders of our caravan, the signal for departure could be given on the afternoon of May 8. From early morning until the afternoon the vizier had had to negotiate with a group of Bedouins, who were waiting for our caravan among the rocks near the road, just outside the whitewashed boundary marks of the town of Makalla, in order to satisfy a blood-feud. The vizier knew how to bargain for a safe passage, but to be quite safe he had us taken in a government auto to a point beyond the border. In the darkness of night we were set down by the side of the road to wait for our donkeys!

The journey to the inaccessible and fanatical land of Hadramaut was now begun. From the 9th to the 15th of May we traveled northwards,—first through the Wādī Himim. Finally we came to the terrible, monotonous plateau with table-mountains, known as *jōl*. For many days we marched over this limestone plateau with its basin-like depressions and its very scant vegetation.

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

against the two non-Moslem travelers, we started in the direction of Hajarēn. It was a silent struggle against thirst and heat. At last we were standing at the foot of the mountain on which Hajarēn lies. It must be a very old town. For a land of warfare its position is also very favorable. In the midst of the broad valley, on the top of a steep rocky hill, which stands there alone and commands the entire valley, they naturally preferred to build a town in former times. We were at the end of our strength as we worked our way up, in through the gate of Hajarēn, and by many narrow, steep streets to a plain house where a friend of the Dutch was said to be living. He might well have been startled when he saw the caravan of his unexpected visitors. It was a long time before the doors were opened. Luck was not with us. A double wedding feast was just being celebrated, and the women had to vacate the room in which we were to be received. Our host was not rich, but he put himself and all that he had at our disposal. When he saw how weary we were and how we longed for rest, a room was made ready for us higher up, where we could sleep until the meal was ready. We were under the roof of a Dutch subject. I remember with deep gratitude the oriental hospitality which cannot be praised enough, and of which we saw here a brilliant example. Thoroughly refreshed we started in the afternoon for Meshed. We had to close our ranks in doing this, for here was the neutral zone between the regions of the āl-Qa'ētī and the āl-Kathīr. Everything here indicated warfare and highway robbery. Meshed is a little place built in the midst of the desert, solely for the purpose of preventing highway robbery. The trade route from the Wādī Hadramaut through the Wādī Dō'an to the coast is safe since Meshed was established. Here we came into the jurisdiction of the family al-'Attās, and our troubles and anxieties came to an end. We were taken into a beautiful, spotlessly clean guest house, and were welcomed as honored guests by the cultured son of the absent governor.

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

and here we stopped on our first journey up, dispossessing a large band of monkeys. This was the first time I had seen them so far east, though we have often seen them north of Aden. As a matter of fact, one rarely meets mammals apart from gazelles and foxes in the Hadhramaut, though lately I was offered a hyena pup in Tarim, and there are wolves, ibex, and oryx. Others prefer for lunch at Reida a house not far away, where if you give an order in advance you can obtain quite well-boiled rice and boiled meat. Our superior friends in the Hadhramaut have named the place Shepheards, principally I think because you are always overcharged there. The first time we passed through the village somebody asked my wife for medicine and was given Epsom Salts. Crowds then came out and stretched forth supplicating hands which were all filled and in this way a pound or two was distributed, but there has never been any ill-feeling about it and relations with the tribe have been uniformly friendly. They have a large tree which is known as the Sanctuary, and under it all the important tribal conferences are held. Here I sat with the elders on a subsequent visit and they signed the general Hadhramaut three-years' truce.

A little beyond Reida you pass into Kathiri territory belonging to the Al Jabir, and the road passes near Risib, where there is a landing-ground. The people of Risib have had a very bad reputation for caravan looting and holding up cars; indeed they fired on cars before ever we came into the country. They were punished for an offence of this nature and are now genuinely among our best friends. My wife and I have stayed with them at their invitation and they entertained us lavishly in their simple way. They told me that they had always believed themselves to be under the protection of the Sultan of Turkey; now their only request is to be helped to find water, and I very much hope that before long it will be possible to help them, as they depend entirely on rain-water and when their pools dry up they have to leave their homes and wander away with their stock elsewhere.

The last sign of permanent life on this road is a little beyond Risib at Heru, where there are a few Sheikhs who have some popular water-holes which last longer than most others on the road and are generally much surrounded with stock. It was a wonderful sight near Heru last year after the heavy rains to see the shallow wadi green from side to side, winding away in each direction apparently fully cultivated. The people never cease to talk of the blessing of peace through which they are able to cultivate far more than they were before, and those heavy rains are universally attributed to the mercy of God manifested as a reward for the peace.

From Heru to Tarim takes four hours and the road is absolutely desolate. Caravans follow a wadi route into the Wadi 'Adim where there is water, for there is not a drop to be had on the route that the cars have to follow, and of course it is usually on this part of the road that one has breakdowns.

I arrived at Tarim at 8.15 in the morning. The *'aqaba* leading down to Tarim is one of the most remarkable engineering constructions in the world. People who know say that no European engineer would attempt it. It consists principally of hairpin bends which you have to reverse to get round, and parts of it have gradients of about 1 in 3 or 4. If you fire a rifle at the top of the *'aqaba* it lets Tarim know you are coming and the whole place troops OUT TO MEET YOU.

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM3

settled here for several centuries, for as far back as the beginning of the sixteenth century Bedr ibu Tuweirak, the well-known Sultan of the Kathiris, whose chain armour and shield has recently been found by the Kathiri Sultan in the palace at Seiyun, imported Yafa'is together with Zeidis from the Yemen and Turks as mercenaries. In course of time the Qu'aiti dynasty arose from these mercenaries and became the principal power in the country. So long have they been settled here that they are now genuine Hadhramis, and like the rest of the Hadhrami tribes are strongly in favour of the present peaceful arrangements. These settled Yafa'is are known as Thelud to distinguish them from the Gharib, the foreign Yafa'is, who still come from the Yafa' mountains in the western part of the Protectorate and serve a while as soldiers. It is among these latter Yafa'is that those who oppose the peace are found; for they are great usurers and have for long made a living from oppression of the poorer classes; and they realize that with the establishment of good order and justice they will not have the same chances in the future.

Al Qatn is about the farthest west that there is extensive cultivation, and it was a marvellous sight last May to see the whole width of the wide wadi green from side to side. Beyond the Yafa'is westward are the Nahd who extend practically to Al 'Abr. They live entirely in the wadi and in the eastern part of their territory are settled; and in the western, where there is little but sand, are Bedus keeping flocks. Their capital is Qa'udha where lives Hakim Mbaruk, the very fine old chief with a wide and enviable reputation for dispensing real justice. The Nahd are a well-built tribe and the elders, of whom there are many, have enormous bellies and resonant voices. From the Nahd we have recruited fine young men for the Qu'aiti Sultan's new camel-lancer bodyguard, and very well they look in their scarlet and blue uniforms. I shall never forget the day when the Nahd signed the peace treaty. They had lived in trenches and imprisoned in their houses for years and they all came out at once and there were many reunions.

North of the Nahd in the steppes between the wadi and the Rub' al Khali is the country of the Sei'ar tribe. We travelled into their territory in 1934 and at the beginning of 1937 when I was travelling round obtaining signatories to the peace treaty, practically every Hadhramaut tribe, asking who had signed and with whom they would be able to consider themselves at peace, ended up by asking "And the Sei'ar?" I do not think there was a single tribe in the Hadhramaut among whom the Sei'ar had not looted or killed, and their reputation is generally bad throughout Southern Arabia, for they are cowardly folk and are fonder of stealing by night and murdering by treachery than by taking and killing in fair fight. Some of the Sei'ar signed the truce straight away, but others later on in the year looted over forty camels from the Manahil, and public opinion demanded that something should be done about it. Arising out of this matter the whole of the Sei'ar country was explored from the air and by this means we were able in three or four reconnaissances to discover the lay-out of their country and incidentally to examine the northern limit of the steppe and the desert.

I accompanied all these reconnaissances, of which the first were made in October last year. So that we might have something we knew to start with, we followed first of all the route which my wife and I had taken before. From

18:Ingrams G-S (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

coasted westwards along the line just dividing the desert from the steppe; where the larger wadis run out into the sand there were wide stretches of scattered vegetation which made the land look as if there was a green scum on it.

At the western end of the "island," much broken with gulfs and with small islands lying off it in the desert, the flight turned to the south-west, a little to the west of the point which had been reached on the previous day's reconnaissance, and explored the western part of the Sei'ar country, the territory of the Al Hatim of which Bin Jerbu'a and Bin Mulhi are the chiefs. This is the heart of Reidat as Sei'ar, and turned out to be surprisingly thickly populated and cultivated. On almost every bank of the wadis were villages consisting of the usual type of Hadhrami Badawin conglomerate *dars*, with a tall tower in the centre, and small contiguous quarters, each called a *Beit*, clustered round it. Subsequent flights made this country very familiar, and with the aid of a Sei'ar, one of the most intelligent Badawin guides, I was able to identify almost all these *dars*. On several occasions we flew beyond Reidat as Sei'ar over uninhabited steppe to Husn Al 'Abr, seeing on clear days Shabwa away in the distance.

These reconnaissances seemed to us very interesting, not only politically but geographically, for the watershed and the fall of the land, steep towards the Hadhramaut and gradual towards the sands, were clearly visible. Up on this watershed I recorded altitudes of 3600, while 300 miles to the east Mr. Thomas states that the altitude remained fairly constant at about 950 feet. This northern steppe is bounded on three sides by sand and has cliff-walls all round it, highest on the wadi side and lowest on the northern or desert side. At a conservative estimate in some 20 square miles there are not less than fifty to sixty Sei'ar villages which have scarcely even been visited by Arabs other than the Sei'ar and the Al Ishaq Sheikhs who live among them.

Some time after these reconnaissances my wife and I visited Al 'Abr on the ground, though she in fact went rather farther and drove some 20 miles towards Shabwa, a day and a half's camel ride from Al 'Abr. We have thus seen the whole of the Wadi Hadhramaut from its source to the sea, and the more you see of it the more extraordinary it is, for it must be at least 40 miles from its northern or left to its southern or right banks at Al 'Abr. This of course narrows very rapidly to 4 miles or so at Henin. It was from Henin that Seiyid Bubekr and I set out for Al 'Abr, following for a start the tracks which Dr. Pike, on a geological survey, had made in that direction. The tracks made by Mr. Philby had of course disappeared.

Our object was to obtain the looted camels of the Manahils, held by the Al 'Abdulla bin 'Aun of the Sei'ar at Al 'Abr. We had with us the fifteen slave soldiers of the Qu'aiti Regular Army who were to be installed there as a garrison, and as we did not want the Al 'Abdulla bin 'Aun to abscond into the desert with the camels, we had kept our movements secret. Seiyid Bubekr said his sunset prayers at Henin. The lorries had gone ahead and had made very slow progress as they had had heavy sand to negotiate. It was difficult finding the way in the dark, but we caught them up at half-past eight, and all of us sat down to dine together, just near the village of Sar and under the two mountains called Thabainin which form a conspicuous landmark from the air for a radius of 70 or 80 miles around. This was 27 miles from Henin,

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

a sort of christening ceremony which we perform on ships with the cooler and more fragrant blood of the grape. The custom in Oman when a new house is finished is for the prospective occupant to slay a sheep on going in. He dabbles his hand in the pool of blood and smears the door-posts. This custom is also observed in the plain of the Dhufar during actual building operations. The meat is eaten by the builders themselves and the blood is smeared indiscriminately over the walls. On the completion of the house, the incomer dashes two hens' eggs on the threshold, two on the stairway and two on the upstairs doorway. This is anathema to the mountain dwellers, who in any case have no houses, but chiefly because the hen and all other bird flesh and birds' eggs are with them taboo. It would be the greatest insult to place such things as food before the non-Arabic speaking tribesman of the mountains.

LAW AND DISPUTES.

As in most tribal societies in Arabia, *hukm al hauz*, or a code of ancient sanctions, is the law. The *hauz* is a wise man of the tribe. Not infrequently his is an hereditary office, occasionally the *hauz* is the shaikh of his tribe. Shara law, i.e. holy law in Oman and elsewhere, is the law of the coastal townships. Outside them it will be resorted to in cases of matrimony, and sometimes of divorce and inheritance; in disputes or crime cases scarcely at all. That is the province of the *hauz*. The same is true of these South Arabians. The Shara or holy law is distasteful to these people and can only be imposed even along the coast by government force. Their own code varies considerably from the code of Oman or that of Hadhramaut, showing evidences of exclusive origin. They have a passionate attachment to the eye-for-an-eye idea, the need of making the punishment fit the crime. An example, told me by the Wali of Dhufar as having taken place last year is as follows: "X" was going on a journey into the "Y's" country and took a *rabia* from "Y." On arriving there the sacred law of protection was transgressed and "X" found himself wounded with a bullet through the fleshy part of his thigh. A *hauz* heard the case and decided that "Y," the innocent party but member of the offending tribe, must submit to the infliction of a similar wound as that which "X" had sustained. For this purpose a piece of stick was brought and sharpened skewer fashion. This was thrust into "Y's" leg and a bullet was threaded and drawn in its path. By local canons "X's" grievance was removed.

In Oman the abuse of the *rabia* would be followed by war between the two tribes unless the offended party agreed to the ruling of the *hauz*, when he would receive from the offenders *Laum-al-wijh* (blame of the face), which is usually assessed at 400 dollars. Murder, which in Arab tribal societies is almost invariably settled by blood-money which varies between 400 and 1,000 dollars (or rather its equivalent in kind), in these Qara mountains is assessed prodigiously high, in theory something like 5,000 dollars, which may take a lifetime to pay off, but is most usually complicated by a vendetta. The murdered man may be poor, so that his close relatives will in any case be impoverished, but collections are made from each and every member of the tribe, who as a point of honour or from inescapable custom, must bear the brunt.

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

come they are united with us in a common rejoicing. That is the kind of recompense that gladdens the hearts of those who have worked for these people and have striven to make British protection a real benefit to them. It encourages our belief that our pioneer work in this country has been undertaken on the right lines, and that we may hope to add another success to those that have been achieved by our predecessors and contemporaries in other parts of the Empire. A great deal remains to be done in the Aden Protectorate, but with patience and perseverance and with the right principles to guide us we may be confident that it will be accomplished.

Colonel Toɒ: I do not know whether you would like to hear anything of the earlier history of the Protectorate, but the time I spent in the Aden Protectorate was before even Sir Bernard Reilly's time, forty years ago, when I was a member of the Anglo-Turkish Mandate Commission. At that time the Protectorate consisted of only nine tribes. Since then it has been considerably extended. Hadhramaut was a *terra incognita* in those days and was certainly not part of the Protectorate.

I think the Sultan of Lahej owes his preponderance chiefly to the fact that all roads from the interior lead through his capital, of which he has taken advantage at different times.

You mentioned the incursion of the Turks in 1915. That was by no means their first incursion into the Protectorate. When they reconquered the Yemen in about 1870 they gradually pushed their rule south until they penetrated many miles into the British Protectorate. When the British Commission went up there in 1901, intending to open friendly relations with the Turks about the demarcation of the frontier, they found the Turks had brought down a considerable force, had taken military possession of that part of the Protectorate, only just leaving the town of Dhala itself outside the militarily occupied area, and had seized the heads of the passes that led down to Aden; so the position of the Commission was a most difficult one. The Turks simply put their foot down and said, "J'y suis, j'y reste," and we had no power to turn them out. There was just an insignificant escort of Indian troops with the Commission. It took a very long time indeed to persuade the home Government that they must intervene with force, and it was only when a force stronger than the Turkish force was sent up there in 1905 that the Turks were compelled to withdraw. That means that Dhala was occupied by the Turks for about thirty years. It

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

721 is a case of the neglect, to which you referred, of the Government
648 towards our so-called protected sheikhs.

000 There are one or two rather curious facts in connection with that Commission. The head of the Commission was a Colonel Wahab, a very talented officer. His assistant was a Major Abud. Anyone who understands Arabic will understand the strange coincidence of those two names. When I first made contact with the Turks, they asked me in a puzzled way: "Who are these two men, Wahab and Abud?" They thought that, whereas they had sent some of their most important men, we had sent some local Arabs to deal with them.

You mentioned the frequency of the travel of the tribes of the Protectorate to foreign lands. That was a very striking feature even in those days. It was quite a common thing to meet a half-naked Arab leading a string of camels, who would say: "Bon jour, monsieur."

We had great difficulty in getting a cook there. Our Indian cook went sick, and to our surprise a local Arab turned up from a village in the mountains. We found he talked English with a very Australian accent, and had been an assistant cook in a temperance hotel in Queensland.

Captain Acworth: Sir Bernard spoke of the very great religious enthusiasm of the tribes, but he also mentioned a sort of friction between the various tribes, and some of them did not think very highly of the others. I was wondering whether in the very keen Moslem faith in the south of Arabia they have among them the same sort of divergencies and different views that we have in our churches here, like High Church, Modernist, and so on—whether there are really a considerable number of sects among the Moslems.

Then, are the various tribes something like the counties in England —say, Lancashire and Cornwall? Can they all understand each other? Those two points I have always wondered about.

795 Sir Bernard Reilly: The division I spoke of was between the Shafeis and the Zeidis. The Shafeis belong to the great Sunni Division of the Moslem faith. The Zeidis are more akin to the Shiahs, though they are not precisely Shiahs. They take their name from the founder of their sect, named Zeid, but they have more in common with the Shiahs than the Shafeis have.

I do not think it would be right to say there are many subdivisions in the Aden Protectorate. The people of the Protectorate are all Shafeis, and there are no serious divisions among them from a religious point of view at all.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

the South coast and separated from it by a mountain range, the country of Ḥaḍramaut. The name occurs already in the Book of Genesis; in ancient times Ḥaḍramaut was famous for its exports of incense and myrrh; ruins and inscriptions from pre-Muhammadan days bear witness to a past greatness and prosperity.

This prosperity of bygone days has, through all manner of unfavourable circumstances, given way, centuries ago, to a pitiable decline. It is true that Islam found an early entrance here and that Muhammadan science has, amongst a certain class of the population, zealous devotees, but the political discipline of this religion has not succeeded in creating Ḥaḍramaut into a realm of peace. The endless tribal wars, which divide the people, make the land practically inaccessible to foreign visitors, even if they are Muhammadans, and at the same time prevent the inhabitants themselves from extracting from their native soil what it could yield to a peacefully labouring population. Because the Ḥaḍramīs are not lacking in ability, which often attains rich maturity under more orderly conditions, many of them have for centuries swarmed to the Yemen, Egypt, Syria and, during the last three centuries especially, also to India and Netherlands India. Of all parts of the Arabian peninsula, Ḥaḍramaut is pre-eminently the land of emigration.

In Netherlands India they have even, in earlier times, succeeded in founding sultanates (e. g. Siak, Pontianak), but now they content themselves with trade and money transactions. Some of them, having become wealthy, return to their own country, but others prefer to enjoy, away from the disturbances of Ḥaḍramaut, the pleasures that are there unattainable. Millionaires are also to be found amongst this fluctuating population of Netherlands India, which numbers seventy to eighty thousand souls. Mr. L. W. C. Van den Berg, adviser to the Netherlands India Government, in 1886, published a book, which, besides statistics of the Ḥaḍramī settlement in the East Indian Archipelago, contained also a description of the native land of these immigrants, compiled from information collected from them in Java. In the 19th

CHAPTER VII.

THE ENTRANCE TO BEAUTIFUL HADRAMAUT PROPER.

On the following day the first car arrived in Ḥurēḍa. Bin ᶜAwaḍ Martaᶜ of Hēnin, a wholesale merchant from Surabaya, has succeeded in finding a way hither through the region of hillocks of loam and sand. In the afternoon we depart in his car, which we fill to the utmost. Not only is it unbearably hot, but, moreover, a scorching wind appears to come up in the afternoon in these broad, sandy wādīs. Several times the car stalls in the loose sand, but our united efforts set it free again, and, seeking and twisting, we continue on our way through the lonely, baking hot desert. No one is on the road at this hour of the day; the little mud villages that we occasionally see in the distance look as if they were dead. Scanty date-palms glimmer now and then through the curtain of sand which hangs stagnant in the air.

1. DIYĀR ĀL BUQRĪ, A CENTRE OF WAR.

After about two hours we reach the mouth of Wādī ᶜAmd in the Wādī 'l-Kasr. The soil is firmer here, consisting, in fact, of hillocks of loam. The wādī, at this point, rather resembles a great plain, in which the driver of our car steers, keeping in sight some promontories of the far-off high rock-wall, looming up from time to time out of the mist of sand. We twist and turn continuously among the loam-hills. Bin Martaᶜ is certainly a clever driver. After a time the high, greyish-white castles of Āl Buqrī, which are situated in about the middle of the wādī, become visible through the haze. They

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

721 are the centre point of a country at war, for two groups of villages have been fighting each other here for the last eleven years. The brothers Āl Buqrī are the commanders on one side. The castles are very high and armed at every point against possible assault. The gardens are surrounded by mud walls, in which are gates made of strong wood with iron-wrought, ornamental plates. We are yearning for a drink and for a place of shelter against the sand-storm. Soldiers' heads appear over the balustrade on the roof in reply to the tooting of our car, and they call out that we must turn to the other side of the castle, as in this side we are liable to be hit by enemy bullets. The enemy villages are about half a mile away. The gate on the safe side is opened and we see the brothers Āl Buqrī standing in the midst of their soldiers. They bid us a friendly welcome and, crowded round by soldiers and children, we are conducted to a large *madjlis* on the third floor.

342 The house is one of the largest and, above all, one of the tallest that we have seen here so far. It is still new and finely constructed, and is plastered all over with white, inside and out. The outside is ornamented with dark-grey edges to the windows and terraces, giving an effect which shows very good

721 taste. The martial individual who is the general is a tall, thin, broad-shouldered man with piercing grey eyes and an aquiline nose: a typical soldier. When we are seated and the phrases of welcome are at an end, the General says: "War is a man's business". This is his answer to our inquiring glances along the walls on which rifles and cartridge-belts are hanging, whilst below them, in close-packed rows, his soldiers are sitting. Upon this follows a conversation from which we learn that our host served with the British in East Africa, where he learned his "man's business". He can, however, take in good part a flat contradiction from us. After an argument, followed with attention by the soldiers, the two Buqrī brothers jump to the other extreme and express their weariness of war and their longing for the end of this cap-

100 tivity in their own house. Fighting is stopped by mutual

Fighting is stopped by mutual 728
agreement during three months of every year. It is the time of the yearly fairs, of pilgrimages and travels. Both parties belong to the Nahd tribe and would gladly see the end of their quarrel. There is, however, no central authority here, able to step in and enforce its decision.

We have become aware during these last days that the 721
insecurity here is a much more serious matter than we had thought when everything went so easily and, apparently, so safely. Now we know that we are in the midst of a people longing for a strong hand to create order and legal security. The el-ʿAṭṭās family wished to present the best case possible as regards conditions in their territory. But Sayyid Ḥasan was obliged first to stipulate for a few days' peace in order to make possible our journey to and from Ḥurēḍa through a war zone.

The day before we left, a threatening letter came in from the Bedouins forbidding the passing through of the *Naṣrānīs*. The three Bedouins who brought the letter were clapped into prison and Sayyid Ḥasan threatened to call up all his Bedouin followers to wage war against those who should assail his guests, and then only were we granted freedom of passage. With the Buqrīs we were in the midst of a war zone; there were armed men all over the house; photographing and the taking of bearings from the roof were only allowed under a guard of soldiers and on the condition that we remove our pith helmets; loop-holes were in all the walls, even in the lavatories, and look-outs on the roof.

Whilst tea and preserved ginger are being served, the 721
brothers Buqrī, who know the world, continue the discussion 648
over war in the Malay language. The conflict arose through treachery on the part of the opponent; after that blood was repeatedly shed, and now no squaring of the account could be reached in this bloodfeud. Deliverance could only be brought by foreigners, British or Dutch. Why do they not do it? The Buqrīs would give the preference to Holland over England, in spite of its heavy taxes, because legal security is greater

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

721 and the police better in the Dutch colonial territories. This
648 same question was repeated again in the evening, in the reception-room of our host at Hēnin. However pleasing I may have found these signs of appreciation for western colonial government on the part of an eastern Muḥammadan people, I continued to answer with evasions and urged them to take the matter into their own hands and to achieve unity, forced on by necessity.

2. THE OLD DYING TOWN OF HĒNIN.

It cost us much pains to decline the pressing invitations to stay longer and to continue the journey to Hēnin in the afternoon.

The hot wind is still filling the wādī with a thick, high-driven mist of sand and dust. The Buqrīs, with their numerous soldiers crowding round them, accompany us till we are outside the gate on the side away from the enemy. Obviously they are all sorry we are leaving so soon and that this variation in their monotonous life comes to so early an end. Before our departure we promise, gladly and faithfully, should we return by this route, to spend the night in their high, beautiful castle. Before long Diyār Āl Buqrī has disappeared in the haze of sand and we travel in absolute solitude amongst the hillocks of loam. Bin ʿAwaḍ Martaʿ, steering a very twisting course, seeks those places where his car can pass between the line of hills. The lower parts are filled with fine sand that lies piled up by the wind so that we have to go by way of the slopes at the foot of the loam-hills. We pass a few tumble-down villages; of vegetation there is hardly a trace.

361 The number of settlements increases as we approach the
241 neighbourhood of Hēnin. They are situated partly at the foot
134 of the mountain-wall which forms the northern bank of Wādī el-Kasr, and partly close by, in the bed of the wādī. Little dykes, which make rectangular divisions in the loam, are a sure proof that agriculture was once carried on here. It does not

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-8 (1931) 32 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

CHAPTER IX.

SĒWŪN, THE HEART OF HADRAMAUT PROPER.

1. PENETRATING INTO THE ĀL KATHĪR TERRITORY.

The border of the Qeᶜēṭī territory is a quarter of an hour's walk to the east of Shibām. There, high up at the edge of the mountain, is a fort and an observation post; there are also mud block-houses in the plain. Somewhat further along the mountain's ridge the white military posts of the Āl Kathīr are visible.

On the afternoon of May 24th, immediately after leaving Shibām, we cross the sandy wādī diagonally towards the northern side, where there is least vegetation, but also least warfare. The whole southern side has the name of being unsafe. But even here on the north, soldiers dog our footsteps whenever we stop to take photographs. The villages are built up against the mountain foot, and on higher points are the ruins of fortifications. Following the margin we again enter date plantations, which are, however, very thin and finally perish in the engulfing sand. Then we go on through sand-dunes overgrown with a kind of beach-grass. Close by Sēwūn we again have to cross the bed of the wādī, as this place is situated on the southern side. There is water, here and there, in the *sēl*-bed; it is, however, very bitter. The soil close to those stagnant pools is covered with a crust of white salt.

Sēwūn lies within a wide belt of magnificent palm-groves and fields of *dhura*. The water-level is only eighteen to twenty-one feet below the surface; the water has a saltish taste, but appears to be exceptionally suitable for the irrigation of the gardens. We had not so far seen such vigorous date-palms and such luxuriant, tall-growing *dhura* as in this part of the country. The hot wind has already ripened the bunches of dates, which are comfortably hidden away by this time in their

24 Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

CHAPTER X.

TO TERÎM, THE HOPE OF ALL HADRAMAUT.

In the Qe'êîî country, already, we heard the name of Sayyid Abû Bakr el-Kâf invariably pronounced with respect, and here we have entered the land of his activity. Sayyid el-Kâf has placed his energy, his love, and all his possessions at the service of his country and of his people. His example is an impressive call to unity and to the setting aside of personal interests and susceptibilities for the general good. Schools, endowed and maintained by him, are scattered all over the country. The Qe'êîî Sultans and Governors have them in their residences, and the influence of these little schools will slowly penetrate through the whole land. His other sensational enterprise, which may become of the greatest significance for the country's future, is the construction of a motor road from the Ḥaḍramaut valley to the coast. Although the road is not yet completed, its influence is already making itself felt. The most difficult *ʿaqabas* have been conquered so that it is possible to bring cars into the valley of Ḥaḍramaut, though the transport of these is still expensive. There, where the first car passes, others will soon follow, and in a country where travelling is very tiring and very slow, the motor-car will be particularly appreciated. The Ḥaḍramis who have been successful abroad do not lack money. The motor-car having arrived will not disappear again, and conditions within the borders of Ḥaḍramaut will be entirely changed thereby. The construction of roads in the valley itself has been started without delay, and drivers and mechanics have already found their way there. The inconvenience of intertribal warfare makes itself felt more and more forcibly, but Sayyid Abû Bakr will be greatly

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

helped by the motor-car in his great work of pacifying and opening up Ḥaḍramaut.

We depart in two fine cars belonging to the Sultan of Sêwûn for Terîm, the city to which Leo Hirsch has preceded us and from which nearly forty years ago the sayyids with their fanaticism and hatred of Christianity forced him to flee within a few hours of his arrival. An Englishman, Mr. Boscawen, reached there also a full year in advance of us, but he did not publish a description of his journey and, according to report, only came for sport. Aeroplanes of the R. A. F. at Aden, with Colonels Cochrane and Lake and Flight-Lieutenant Rickards on board, also once flew high above the town, but they were only making an aerial reconnaissance, although the scouts themselves felt a growing desire within them to set foot for once in this wonderful town. The Ḥaḍramis say of it: "Terîm — and then thou desirest nothing else."

The cars take us through winding mud lanes between palm-groves to the hilly stretch of sand and loam outside the town. The palm-trees are planted well apart from each other in the sand; the fields of *dhura* come to an end but the little dykes of the area that can only be cultivated when the rains are sufficient are to be seen for long afterwards. Quite soon we pass the ruins of a town, Maryama, probably of great antiquity. The castle and the town were laid waste in a local war, and, of the cultivation of the land, only the little dykes, which divided the fields into squares, still remain. Close to Maryama there was an old road which crossed southwards over the mountain-wall. My companion climbed this *ʿaqaba* called Duqm el-Aswad and found on the rock-wall close to the *djôl* scrollings and graffiti probably made, many centuries ago, by the Bedouins of passing caravans. Some distance further on the villages and palm-groves at the foot of the southern mountain-wall come to an end. The loam vanishes under an ever thicker layer of sand and sand-dunes, and the cars stall several times. In accordance with the instructions of the Sultan we do not go by the normal way, through the plain, to Terîm, but follow

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

finished a stretch of three days by camel. Sayyid Abū Bakr foresees, nevertheless, much bickering with the Bedouins in the future and therefore is meditating upon the possibility of inaugurating an air service between Terīm and esh-Shiḥr. Since he saw British military aeroplanes manoeuvring above Terīm and heard what a deep impression those unknown, gigantic birds made on the Bedouins, the conviction has grown within him that the aeroplane would be the conclusive way of bringing the Bedouins under discipline and keeping them there. An aeroplane cannot be opposed with dagger and gun, the wādīs are no hindrance to it, and there is no spot on the barren *djōls* where one can escape the searching eye of the airman. Sayyid Abū Bakr considers that a single demonstration, to show the terrible effects wrought by a bomb dropped from one such aeroplane, would suffice to make an end to the Bedouin warfare, which has been going on for centuries, and that this would be the first step on the way towards the real advancement of the country. We advise them — although they know the Dutch Fokker aeroplanes in Java and the kindred type, the Junkers, in the Yemen, — to consult the British authorities at Aden and to procure the same type of aeroplane as is used by them.

On the afternoons of the ensuing days motor drives were made in the neighbourhood of Terīm, to show us the ground considered suitable for an aerodrome. My expert companion chooses the site indicated on the ground-plan of Terīm, eastward of el-Ḥāwī, of which only a small part would need levelling; it is close to and connected with the town, and is not so near to the precipitous mountain-wall as the other terrains under review. At the request of Sayyid Abū Bakr, Von Wissmann draws a sketch map of the proposed landing ground with its surroundings, to show to the Governor of Aden when consulting him as to whether the R. A. F. would allow their machines to land on such a ground. Our energetic friend, Sayyid Ḥasan el-ʿAṭṭās of Ḥurēḍa, has worked with the Junkers commission in the Yemen and will, eventually, be

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

361 Of course we follow this advice. The road runs almost without interruption through magnificent palm plantations and by villages with curious grey-brown mud-built castles, flanked by spotlessly white houses of fine architecture. It is the most prosperous and finest district in Ḥaḍramaut Proper. Its chief centre is el-Ghurfa, a town well-known and important in ancient times, but now reduced to secondary rank by constant wars. We enter the war zone a little way out of Sēwūn. No danger threatens us, however, as the Sultan is neutral in a struggle between groups of families who consider themselves to be independent and who fight amongst themselves for domination in this borderland between the Āl el-Qeᶜēṭī and the Āl Kathīr. A deathly silence reigns in the pretty villages lying close together among gardens of palms. It seems as if we alone are on the road in an enchanted land, whose inhabitants have either vanished or are asleep. Our drivers do not expect the cars to be fired at, but all the same, they keep out of the way of the villages, whence unseen watchers are certainly following our every movement. Before long we come upon trenches cut across the road, which force us to make long detours. The Sultan's soldiers who accompany us point out the villages of three parties at war. Soon they are so mixed up that we can no longer distinguish which is which. The trenches are deep and numerous, and only through them can the people enter and leave their villages and houses and get to their gardens. As all three parties are equally dependent on these magnificent gardens they have agreed amongst themselves that necessary work therein must be kept going.

721 722

We approach the town of el-Ghurfa; it is entirely surrounded by a wall with closed gates, and encircled by broad, deep trenches. The palm gardens extend as far as the wall of the town. The silence is oppressive. In order to avoid a trench we have to go out of our way close by one of the corner gates. The sentries appear to have been asleep, for directly the sound of our motors is audible, cries of alarm reach us from behind the gate. We are only a little further

1 [On the South bank of the Wādī between Sēwūn and Shibām — ANALYST]

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

when the gate is pushed open and a group of soldiers rush out with their guns at the attack. Our people are petrified with fright and call out that we belong to the *Dōla* (the Government). Then the guns drop and the sound of a greeting reaches us, but our chauffeurs drive on as fast as possible, so as to escape from this hostile place.

We now enter the district belonging to the third party, with el-ᶜUqda as its headquarters, where the rich Shēkh Sālim bin Djaᶜfar bin Ṭālib lives. We are to pay a call upon him. He gave us a pressing invitation to do so on the outward journey, but, at that time, the Sultan of Shibām, who had undertaken our transport arrangements, gave orders to avoid the war zone. Shēkh Sālim is a Dutch subject; he possesses a great fortune, amassed in Surabaya, and was one of the well-known Ḥaḍramīs of that city.

The country round el-ᶜUqda is a paradise of beauty. White and light-grey palaces, with rows of big windows and fine points and pinnacles along the edges of the roofs, are scattered among the plantations of young palm-trees. Behind this gay green and white colouring is the yellowish-brown of the rock. In the gardens are also many bushes of lemon and pomegranate and papayas. The buildings in which Shēkh Sālim lives are surrounded by a high wall, with a colossal wooden gate covered with sheet iron, which gives entrance to a courtyard. The outposts here have done their duty and given notive of our arrival, and the gate has been thrown wide open and Shēkh Sālim himself, surrounded by soldiers and children, stands there to give us welcome. The pro-Dutch sentiments of the grey-headed Shēkh are well known, and we have no need to doubt for one moment that our welcome here comes from the heart. Conversation is carried on in the Malay language, in compliment to the presence of a government official of Netherlands India. This creates an intimate atmosphere and offers the advantage that the soldiers and children cannot follow what is said. The great *madjlis* of this imposing building becomes speedily filled with a crowd of inter-

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-S (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

expressions of general agreement. Shēkh Sālim went even further. If I would only stay one day more and speak with the leaders of the three parties, it would be an easy matter for me to bring about peace, for everyone was longing for it from the bottom of their hearts.

Many of their ideas were not new to me: I had heard them already in Diyār Āl Buqrī, in Sēwūn, in Terīm. Never, however, had they been posed with so much urgency and in such a concrete form. I was obliged to explain why it was impossible for me to assume the right to act as arbitrator. So long as the the Dutch could only enter the doors of Ḥaḍramaut with Britain's permission, so long would direct contact between our Government and the authorities of that land remain difficult. Also, as long as there existed no central power in the country, such contact would be out of the question. I could only give the advice to strive for unity and the formation of a central power. If they could not do this alone, then co-operation with the British authorities in Aden, to whom, also, they had turned in former times, seemed to be the obvious way.

The struggle was a war between relations, in which the Qeᶜēṭī Government was now also implicated. A certain Ṣāliḥ bin ᶜUbēd bin ᶜAbdād had got el-Ghurfa into his power by treachery. This place was formerly a free town, without a *dōla* and without taxes. The occupation was felt to be unendurable, not only by the other branches of Ṣāliḥ's family, who were envious, but also by the Government of el-Qeᶜēṭī. For there was already a treaty arrangement with Britain according to which the power in Ḥaḍramaut Proper should be divided between two groups: the Āl el-Qeᶜēṭī and the Āl Kathīr. El-Qeᶜēṭī would not put up with a third authority. The twenty two other branches of the Āl ᶜUmar — the family of Ṣāliḥ bin ᶜUbēd — also took a hand in the quarrel, and since then no solution to it has been found.

Towards sundown we took our leave of this group of three country-houses standing out most effectively, with their

24;Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

MARYAM, ENCOURAGED BY HER MOTHER, EVEN YIELD-
301 ed up to us her graceful girdle of copper wire with fine silver wire twisted round it, in return for good payment, as well as her necklace of oval silver beads. Having made a success of this transaction, Maryam at once made her way with a part of the proceeds to the goldsmith, living in a village hours away, to buy a new girdle and necklace!

361 We continued our way through the monotonous stony levels in the burning heat of the afternoon. In the distance we saw a few scattered hamlets belonging to the Deyyin territory. These villages generally have a piece of cultivated land and a few trees, and the well-ploughed land lies waiting now for the rain, which will make sowing possible. The trees are burnt up, brownish-grey, dead as in a northern winter.

•721 On our left we passed the ruins of el-Khamīs. Our sayyid told us that this had been the dwelling-place of a Ḥaḍramī, who had amassed a fortune in Java and, when he returned to his fatherland, had tried to conquer a kingdom. With the money he had made in Java he recruited soldiers, made raids into the fertile lands of Wādī Dō'an and destroyed its gardens of date-palms. In place of buying him off with a piece of land, the Qe'ēṭī Sultan raised an army against him and even transported a few cannon to his village. The man, who was out for a kingdom, was not prepared for this development; he was taken prisoner, his village was razed to the ground and a heavy ransom was exacted from his wealthy family in Java. The family petitioned the Netherlands Government on behalf of the captive adventurer, basing their appeal on his Dutch nationality. It was then that the desirability of being accurately informed as to conditions in the land of origin of a considerable number of its subjects became evident to the Netherlands Government.

312 A little further on we came to the village of Khalīfet Bā Suwēde. There we made a halt to beg water for man and beast and to try to purchase some food for the animals. It appeared that there was not much water left in the *neqābas*, and doubtless this accounted for our none too friendly reception. There

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Hadhramaut MM2

Sultan formerly held the hereditary appointment of Zamindar of the Nizam of Hyderabad's Army Levy, which recruited largely from Quaiti territory. Mukalla town has even achieved a 'Nationalist Party', which fomented a serious riot in December 1950.[1] Farther east lies the large Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and of Socotra Island (pop. about 8,000); the resident adviser strongly urged the Sultan in 1950 to spend more time in his mainland territory instead of leaving it to a younger branch of his family, while the Sultan lived on Socotra.[2] The most important ruler in Wadi Hadramaut is the Kathiri Sultan of Sayun, who has his own armed constabulary. A number of lesser chiefs have for local security purposes their own tribal guards, whose maintenance is partly financed by the British Government. In addition, the Aden Government established in 1937 a force of Government Guards in the Western Protectorate, and three years later in the Eastern Protectorate the Hadrami Bedouin Legion, which was modelled on the Arab Legion of what has since become the Kingdom of Jordan.[3]

The assistance of a British Director of Agriculture and his staff is available to those rulers who desire it, and financial help has been forthcoming since 1947 under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. It was proposed to expend £410,000 in 1951–2 (including £82,000 for agriculture); only £23,000 of this would come from local revenue, the remainder to be provided by the British Government.[4] Drought caused a serious famine in the Hadramaut in 1943 and another less serious one in 1948–9. The region's economy was formerly helped to a considerable extent by remittances from Hadrami emigrants who had prospered in the farther East, but political changes in Indonesia and in the Hyderabad state of India have adversely affected this traffic, and the British authorities have had recourse to a large-scale scheme of irrigation by diesel-engined pumps. In the Western Protectorate the development of irrigated agriculture on over 100,000 acres at Abyan (40 miles north-east of Aden Colony) was begun with help from Colonial Development and Welfare funds in 1947 and was becoming self-supporting by 1952. It is a partnership on the Sudan model between the tenants, who receive half the returns, the landowners (the local states or private landlords), and the board of management, who divide the other half. Long-staple cotton of the Egyptian kind had become the main crop by

[1] GB, Colonial Office, *Report on Aden for the years 1949 and 1950*, p. 60.
[2] Ibid. p. 61.
[3] See A. M. Clark Hutchison, 'The Hadhrami Bedouin Legion', *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, January 1950, pp. 62–5.
[4] See above, p. 112.

G. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

ADEN PROTECTORATE

PART IV

Chapter 1: General Review

WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

647 DURING 1947 the Western Aden Protectorate continued to suffer from a shortage of experienced Political Officers. This position was aggravated by the murder in April of Mr. P. C. Davey, an officer of exceptional ability and experience. In consequence most districts were inadequately manned, with the result that it proved difficult to consolidate the progress of the past few years and in some cases there was some deterioration. The Arab Assistant Political Officers, of whom there are at present seven, have of necessity been the backbone of the Western Aden Protectorate administration during the past three years owing to the shortage of experienced British Political Staff.

631 The Fadhli, Dathina and Subeihi administrations carried on with very little change. The two former show a very much-improved financial position. The Amiri country started the year with the removal after a show of force of Amir Haidera and, after an unhappy year of strife and intrigue, ended it with the establishment of a constitutional form of government.

643 In the Abdali State the death of the Sultan, His Highness Sir Abdul
642 Karim Fadhl bin Ali, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., who has been succeeded by his eldest son, Fadhl Abdul Karim, and who was a sincere and experienced ruler, was much regretted by his people. On the acclamation of his successor a new constitution setting up a State Council was established and is now in operation.

721 In Beihan the Sultan encountered difficulties with the Balharithi tribe in the far north, and the situation had to be settled by air action.

There were trade-route incidents in Quteibi country, in Wadi Hardaba (Radfan), in Mansuri country (Manqa'a), in Marqashi country (Fadhli) and in Rujeili country (Wadi Teim in Radfan), involving losses of life and heavy lootings. Lootings in the Quteibi territory assumed such proportions that it was necessary to restore normality by air operations. The incidents in Marqashi were satisfactorily settled by administrative action. The other incidents still remain to be settled.

2424 On the other side of the picture agricultural development in Abyan has had a most beneficial effect in this southern area in spite of the uncooperative attitude of the Lower Yafa'i Sultan. This attitude led finally to his suspension from office in the Yafa'i as Sahil area of his territory. In contrast, the willing co-operation of the Fadhli authorities in fostering

5:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21

the development of agriculture and irrigation in Abyan has been much appreciated. 242

During the latter part of 1947 it was possible to station a Political Officer in the Abyan and Ahwar areas. His presence and the benefit of increased production in the area have contributed to the appreciable success of the Abyan experiment during the year.

EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate considerable political activity was shown by various sections of the Qu'aiti and Kathiri states. In the former, two parties were formed in March, one the National party and the other the Hadhrami party. The latter is for Hadhrami unity, in which it agrees with the Seiyid party of the Kathiri state, which also showed some liveliness at the start of the year. Later, however, the Seiyids began to concentrate less on the general question of Hadhrami unity and more on the immediate question of escaping from paying double taxation. Several committees were formed with this object and in April a deputation waited on the Resident Adviser, whose answer to them was that it was for the Qu'aiti and Kathiri states to co-operate in the matter of lightening the burden of taxation of their subjects. Later the Seiyids sent a telegraphic plea to the Governor and Secretary of State. 665

Meanwhile the National party remained anti-Seiyid and, on the whole, anti-unity. In April they published a manifesto of their aims on the front page of the Aden newspaper, *Fatat-al-Jezira*.

The Arab cause in Palestine continued to arouse considerable sympathy in the Eastern Aden Protectorate. This came to a head in December after the United Nations Assembly had recommended partition and took the form of processions (without violence) and the opening of subscription lists. Telegrams were sent to the Secretary of State and there was a one-day strike in Mukalla and Sai'un. 664

In both Qu'aiti and Kathiri states democratic changes were made in the administration. In the latter a State Council was formed in April and met for the first time in May: it consists at present of three *ex-officio*, three official and three unofficial members. In June the Qu'aiti State Council Decree was amended to allow the representation of provincial communities with the intention of improving relations between the Government and the provinces. These communities were not previously represented. 646 642

Outstanding boundary disputes between the Qu'aiti and Kathiri states remained unsettled throughout the year. 731

Security continued to be disturbed throughout the year in the north-west on the boundaries with the Yemen and Sa'udi Arabia and to a lesser extent in the Wahidi area on the boundaries of the Western Aden Protectorate. In January the Kazimis looted a caravan on its way to Habban. In March there was a big raid by the Dahin and Abida (Yemeni) on the eastern coastal area. In May the Upper Aulaqi (who owe allegiance to no one) attacked Amaqin in Wahidi; in that month also the Sei'ar 721 619

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

and the Kurab launched an attack on the Dahm. In September the Dahm returned the compliment. In November the Sei'ar raided Qahtan (Sa'udi Arabia). These were only the major incidents of quite an eventful year on the boundaries of the Eastern Aden Protectorate. There were other raids and attacks on caravans; little could be done with funds and forces available but report that these had taken place.

Within the Qu'aiti state things were far from peaceful. By June disturbances in Wadi Hajr and Wadi Du'an had shown that the time was not yet ripe for the collection of the new date-tax and it was accordingly lifted with a noticeably beneficial effect on security. But in the same month the Manahil tribe, apparently exasperated by tactless and overbearing behaviour towards them of Qu'aiti officials, attacked and overran two Qu'aiti government posts at Urr and Som, looting all their arms, ammunition and rations. The Resident Adviser was able to negotiate the return of some of these in return for concessions. Later in the year the Manahil went back on their word to resore the seventeen rifles taken. Two other tribes, the Ba Qutmi and the Ba Rasheid, in the neighbourhood of Wadi Hajr, caused the Qu'aiti Government some concern. The threat of a light field gun induced the former to see reason in August. The difference with the Ba Rasheid however—the building of a fort which the Qu'aiti Government considered threatened the peace—remained unsettled at the end of the year. The Ba Rasheid were thought to be receiving encouragement from the Mansab of Budha, a gentleman who considers himself an autonomous ruler and has on several occasions gathered the tribes and incited them against the Qu'aiti Government.

There was one major incident in the Kathiri state, arising from the carrying of arms in Wadi Hadhramaut by members of the Ba Jari tribe, contrary to decree. This occurred in July; though warned, the Ba Jari persisted and in September a force of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion was sent to bring them to reason. This force arrested the ringleader, took some 65 rifles and effected punishment of the tribe without any fighting taking place.

Dr. R. B. Serjeant, a member of the staff of the School of Oriental and African Studies, arrived in March to spend a year in linguistic and other research. Dr. M. K. Serjeant, his wife, was also sent by the Red Crescent Society and carried out welfare work for women and children both in Wadi Hadhramaut and in Mukalla. In March the Netherlands Minister in Jeddah visited Hadhramaut. In April the Qu'aiti Sultan arrived from India, but returned there in October. Attempts to persuade the sultanic family of Balhaf to elect a successor continued during the year and by the end showed signs of success, the lot falling upon Nasir bin Abdullah, son of the Regent murdered some years ago.

Chapter 2: Population

The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is approximately 350,000 souls, all Shari'a Arabs, with the exception of about 2,000 Jews. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at approximately 300,000 souls.

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM12

ADEN PROTECTORATE

PART IV

Chapter 1: General Review

WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

THERE was a general improvement in security and in political matters during the year, but the economic situation remained at a low ebb owing especially to a poor rainfall in most areas.

It was found necessary to occupy Shaibi territory by force in order to put an end to the extremely oppressive rule of the Saqladi Sheikh. The Sheikh fled to the Yemen and the new administration introduced by Government was welcomed by all sections of the population. The area which is at a high attitude should prosper.

The Abyan Development Scheme in Fadhli and Lower Yafai territories made good progress, but relations between Government and the Lower Yafai Sultan continued to be unsatisfactory.

The administration of Subeihi territory was transferred for an experimental period to the Abdali Sultan.

Slow progress was made in the new Dhala (Amiri) administration, but a second season of drought hampered progress. Advances of grain to the value of some £15,000 were made to farmers in the area to prevent a complete economic collapse.

Revenues in the Fadhli and Dathina areas fell as a result of poor harvests.

The Beihan administration made good progress but received a setback towards the end of the year owing to the failure of the autumn harvest and later to frost damage on the well irrigated wheat and barley crops.

There were no trade route incidents during the year.

EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

The Qu'aiti-Kathiri boundary dispute was settled by the arbitration of the Resident Adviser, which both Sultans had agreed to accept as finally binding. When the time came to execute his decisions, the Qu'aiti Sultan showed considerable reluctance to surrender Sah and the Kathiri to surrender forts round Tarim.

Local political parties tended to lose their sting during the year. The Qu'aiti National Party became seriously involved in the question of the surrender of Sah (see above) and also supported, through its representatives within Mukalla Government, the claims of the Tamimi tribe to watch date palms.

Heavy raiding by Saudi tribes in the spring led to a meeting between

G. Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MMI Aden
Hadhramaut NM2

Saudi and Hadhrami delegates at Al 'Abr. Proposals were made and agreed upon, but ratification by the Saudi Government was delayed.

In the Qu'aiti State the uneasy truce was continued while the Manahil and the Hamumi showed a tendency to break the peace as their truce drew near its end in December; notably two of the Beit Ali fired on and looted a car near Gheil Umar. The truce with the Hamumi was not renewed as it was considered improper for the Qu'aiti Government to be bound by a truce with its own subjects.

In the area of Wadi 'Amd the murder of a chief of Al Suweidan led to a military operation against the Muqaddam of Ba Suleib, who had refused to surrender the murderers (who were from his tribe). The Muqaddam was killed during the assault and his town occupied. This success had a most salutary political effect throughout the whole Wadi, and it proved possible to enforce the registration of arms. As a result the Mansab of Budha, a chief of the Deiyyin tribe of evil fame, and the Muqaddam of the Bal 'Ubeid—an important confederation living west of Wadi 'Amd—submitted to Government.

The Kathiri and Wahidi States were quiet.

The British Agent and Resident Adviser, Mr. C. H. J. Sheppard, went on leave pending retirement in November.

The Qu'aiti Sultan returned to Mukalla from India in the spring.

Sultan Nasir bin Abdullah Al Wahidi was recognised by His Majesty's Government as the Treaty Sultan of Balhaf.

Chapter 2: Population

The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is in the neighbourhood of 350,000, all Shafa'i Arabs, with the exception of 2,000 Jews. These figures are very approximate as no census of the population has been made. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at about roughly 300,000.

Chapter 3: Occupations and Wages

By far the most important occupation in the Western Aden Protectorate is agriculture, involving as it does about 90 per cent of the population; other occupations are dyeing, weaving, fishing, and the preparation of hides and skins.

Wages vary greatly, generally from Re. 1 to Rs. 1½ for an adult or a boy over 12. Working hours vary considerably—from April to October they amount to about 60 hours a week, but are considerably fewer from November to March. There are no labour organisations in the Protectorate.

Chapter 4: Public Finance and Taxation

The following is a summary of the Western and Eastern Aden Protectorates' expenditure for the year 1948–49 as well as some State figures for the same year.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2

missioners) and Qaims (Assistant District Commissioners) of the provinces and districts. Naibs were provided with motor vehicles to increase their mobility. An annual conference of all Quaiti, Kathiri and Wahidi Naibs and Qaims has been instituted, at which lectures and practical demonstrations in all administrative subjects are given by local experts.

Another significant step towards devolution of duties on to Naibs and Qaims has been the setting-up of village councils under their direction and supervision. The activities of these councils include village welfare, hygiene, sanitation, increase of food production, etc. The Sultan of Qu'aiti State has also nominated a Municipal Council for Mukalla.

The period under review was also notable for increased co-operation in administrative affairs between Qu'aiti and Kathiri and for the settlement of problems common to these two States. The Qu'aiti and Kathiri State Secretaries and senior officials met several times during 1949 and 1950 and joint decisions were taken on such matters as local import and export taxes, development tax on date-bearing palms, postal affairs, remittances from abroad, famine relief and prevention, and unification of vehicle licences.

With the retirement of Sheikh Seif bin Ali Elbually, C.B.E., from the post of State Secretary to the Qu'aiti Government, in December, 1950, and the appointment of Sheikh Qaddal Sa'id El Qaddal Pasha, M.B.E., formerly Qu'aiti Director of Education who is a Sudanese, as his successor, the so-called Nationalist Party, whose membership does not extend beyond Mukalla Town, seized the opportunity to foment serious rioting, in the quelling of which 16 persons were killed and 24 wounded. Suitable sentences were dealt out to the ringleaders by the Special Court set up by the Sultan to try the offenders. The new State Secretary has been warmly welcomed into the office by all the responsible citizens and officials of the Qu'aiti State in Mukalla and throughout the Provinces.

The Kathiri Sultan Ja'far bin Mansur bin Ghalib died on 24th April, 1949, and was succeeded by his nephew Sultan Hussein bin Ali bin Mansur al Kathiri, who was recognised by His Majesty's Government as Treaty Sultan on 22nd May, 1950.

During 1950 codified criminal law based on Sharia was introduced in the Qu'aiti State.

Beduin Affairs

Wahidi Area. As a result of the operations against the Khadim of Mithaf and the Al Adhm Tribe in January and February, 1950, the whole Dhiyeibi area came under the Sultan of Balhaf and security posts were established on the western border of the Eastern Aden Protectorate.

In July, 1950, a successful operation was undertaken against Al Ba Dukhn for breach of the peace and the tribe was brought under complete control